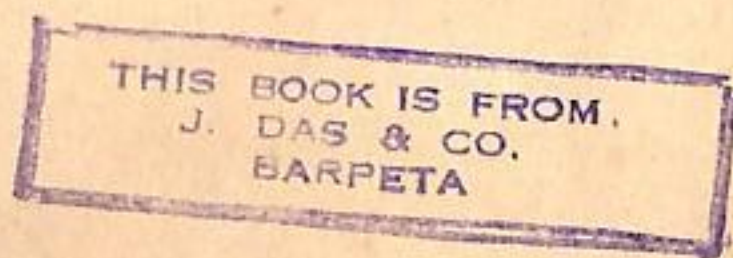


DEVELOPMENT of INDIA

for
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Barpet
Kirmal Kuli

BY

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PREFACE

This book is not an ideological product. The writer has put down what he thinks is needed for the planning of the future of his country.

At the present juncture, religious scruples and ideological differences should be set aside in order to attain our objective.

It behoves us to remember that the fundamental principle of all true religion is tolerance.

The writer owes no apology to any religious or political fanatics.

BRISTOL, 1947.

S. GOSWAMI.

AN EXPLANATION

The reader may question whether I possess enough qualifications to discuss a vast subject like the one I have chosen.

In shaping the future of our Motherland, each one of us must contribute to the best of his ability.

Every child has a mind of its own. Due to lack of education or unsuitable environmental influences most of these minds cannot rise above the everyday happenings of life. The few that can overcome the daily difficulties, do not always find scope to give publicity to their views and ideas. My purpose in touching such a big subject is to bring out some of these hidden thoughts.

I want criticism, particularly of the constructive sort. Once I can set a large number of people in motion discussing the subjects I have touched, and condemning me where I have failed, my purpose will have been fulfilled.

It is from these discussions that a later writer will be able to write a proper book on the development of India, or perhaps produce a plan like the Soviet five year plan.

As long ago as 1939 I had the idea of requesting various professors in the different provinces of India to let me have certain materials, to help me to compile a book on the development of our country. The war intervened and the project had to be dropped. This may have been a boon in disguise. Having lived and worked through the war years in a humble job, I have gained a certain amount of practical experience which has been embodied in my book.

Time marches on, so I am not waiting to collect further details.

My thanks are due to the various authors whose books I have read and some of whose ideas may well have passed as mine. My particular indebtedness, however, is to my wife, with whom I have discussed my ideas and it is due to her patience in sorting out my scribblings (put down at odd times) that the publication of this book has been possible.

S. G.

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EDUCATION

Our present system of education is not only confined to a small percentage of the population, but it is also alien to us. Studying of foreign languages and getting the best of foreign culture are all very well, but when it comes to the question of acquiring even rudimentary knowledge through the medium of a foreign language, progress is definitely retarded. The study of Shakespeare is most admirable, but not at the expense of Kalidas.

Vedic philosophy can provide us a better background to the study of philosophy in general than having to start with Plato, Descartes, Berkeley, Locke and Hume, and then go back to Vedic philosophy. Under our present system of education, we devote so much of our early life in trying to acquire something which is entirely foreign, that often we fail to assimilate the beauty of our own culture.

True, our Universities turn out graduates in fair numbers, even compared to countries where education is compulsory, but the biggest portion of these graduates are fit only for clerical jobs.

The whole system of our present University education needs revising. To give a concrete example—we study Logic for two years, whereas ten or twelve lectures of fifty minutes each covers the whole field of deductive and inductive logic in an English University.

Naturally the whole changeover to a more suitable system of education is bound to take a few years, but an immediate start should be made.

A Central board of education for the whole of India, should be appointed. Under its control there should be Provincial boards, and under these again, District boards. The latter should be composed of equal numbers of Hindus and Moslems, except in those districts which are entirely populated by one community. One of the functions of the central board should be to select books,

to get the necessary books written and to arrange for translations of foreign books.

With scientific subjects, one of the difficulties will be to find equivalent words in an Indian language, but the difficulty can be overcome by absorbing the foreign technical terms into our own language and inserting them into our dictionaries.

The solution of higher educational problems alone would not make us a literate nation. We have got to solve the problem of mass education. Primary education should be compulsory, and along with it is our golden opportunity to introduce one language for the whole of India.

Without disturbing the present structure of provincial languages, we can skilfully introduce a universal Indian language. Let each province retain its own tongue, but in place of English, we should teach all our boys and girls one common Indian language. The letters of the Hindustani alphabet should be reduced to a minimum, and simple text books should be written.

Young graduates should be trained by the central board for a few months, and then sent out to the villages in two's (preferably one Moslem and one from any of the other communities) to start schools. In the initial stage it would be necessary to group several villages together, according to their size and proximity. Temples and Mosques can be utilised for schools. Where the Maulavi attached to the Mosque and the Temple Brahmin are of a cultured type, only one other teacher will be required.

Anyone who has studied our village life at close quarters will agree that the villagers always take their problems to any educated person that may be available, irrespective of his religion. The idea of sending two teachers is mainly to set an example to the villagers of how a Hindu and a Moslem can work together. Another reason for sending two graduates out together is that they can provide companionship for each other. In the past, it has been the tendency of educated people to leave the villages, which could not provide them with the amenities to which they were accustomed in student life, and to migrate to the towns. Thus a lone teacher

would find life tedious without a companion of similar education.

Promotion of teachers should be rapid and based entirely on the progress they show amongst the villagers. The judging for promotion of the teachers should be done by the district board of another district, thus stamping out any chance of favouritism at its very root.

From the start, arrangements should be made for the poor children to get a solid meal in the school. Hungry children can hardly study. There should also be periodic medical examination of the young children.

Boys and girls should attend the same schools for primary education. Secondary education should be free. At the moment, the secondary education course covers eight years. If this is kept in the same form, co-education should continue for the first four years, but thereafter the boys and girls should be separated until after matriculation. Universities should of course be co-educational.

For four years before matriculation, boys should have a part curriculum of technical studies such as Commerce, Agriculture, Carpentry, House-Building, Engineering and First-Aid, and in the last two years sex education and physical training should be given.

For girls, the four years before matriculation should include such subjects as Cooking, Weaving, Knitting, Sanitation, Housekeeping, Midwifery, Beauty culture and Commerce. Sexual science and physical culture should be included in the last two years.

For both boys and girls, two of these technical subjects (apart from sex and physical culture) should be compulsory when taking matriculation.

If we want to have a healthy nation, it is vitally important to cut out hypocrisy and instruct our young people in sex and hygiene.

Whilst discussing primary and secondary education for our youth, we must not overlook the importance of adult education. Some simplified form must be adopted, such as reading and writing, and easy lectures on such subjects as Agriculture, Hygiene, etc.

Regarding University education, we will have to change our present tactics considerably. In order to get a large

number of qualified people within a few years, the graduation course should be confined to two subjects only, so that the student gets a considerable opportunity to learn his subjects thoroughly in the four years.

Post-graduate courses should be confined only to those students who show proficiency in their graduation course.

Research centres should be established for every conceivable subject. Particular stress should be given to agriculture, geology, chemistry and physics.

Anything we achieve in the research field should be made available to humanity at large. We cannot segregate knowledge, whether it be the splitting of the Atom or the development of the Cosmic ray, what has been discovered by a group of scientists in one country is inevitably found by others. Instead of a nation stupidly trying to monopolise certain ideas, whilst another nation's scientists are working along the same lines, surely it would benefit humanity at large, and thus each individual nation, if the world's scientists could pool their work and each have the benefit of the others knowledge.

EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

We cannot start developing our country without the full co-operation of half of our population. Indian women must learn to take their proper place in the new era of our country. Women of the rising generation will, as a natural result of the scheme of education for all, demand a proper chance in life. They will not merely be content to be the unpaid domestic drudges and prolific bearers of children, but will wish to have a chance to develop their talents. Such careers as medicine, law, teaching, etc. which are now open only to the selected few, will be within their grasp.

What untold wealth lies beneath the surface, waiting for DISCOVERY!

To enable us to tap these resources, the second step necessary, after education, is equal pay for equal work.

I cannot stress this last point too much.

Even in the Western hemisphere, where women are supposed to be emancipated, this does not occur (with the exception of U.S.S.R.). Under capitalist regimes the fallacious idea is rife that equal pay will mean unemployment for the man, whilst the woman will be the sole wage-earner. It only needs a little insight to see the folly of this idea. Instead of a woman being employed for a particular job because her rate of pay is less, the most suitable person, whether male or female, would be chosen for it.

Naturally, after their schooling is over, many millions of women will still prefer the role of housewife and mother and will have no desire to go into industry or the professions. For these women, there should be clubs or communal centres where they can discuss their domestic problems, develop their talents for handicrafts, or study music, etc., and thus get away from the usual routine for a few hours each day. Creches and nurseries should also be started, where trained staff can look after the children whilst mother is enjoying a little leisure.

That our womenfolk will prove themselves to be worthy members of our community, given the proper chance, cannot be doubted, especially when one remembers the part they have played and are still playing in our National movement. Women like Sarojini Naidu and Lakshmi Pandit, to name but two of India's daughters, are shining examples not only to the women of Asia, but to the whole world.

AGRICULTURE

Two square meals a day and a roof overhead are the immediate requirements for sustaining a human being.

This is what we have not had for ages. Famines are not just our exclusive heritage, people in other countries also have died of famine but in the annals of human history people have never died in such astronomical numbers for want of food as in India.

What are the root causes of this disgrace? Are we over-populated, that our soil is not big enough to produce grain to feed the population? Are we to look for

"lebensraum" (living space) or preach vigorous birth control?

I emphatically say no. The excuse of a big population is what the capitalist industrialised countries use where lack of planning keeps a large number of unemployed people at semi-starvation level (of course the chief reason being to get cheap labour).

What we need in India is not the checking of the growth of population but proper cultivation of our land; and our harvest should be made independent of droughts and floods.

One can cultivate even the Sahara desert if only people make up their minds. Such projects as the Suez canal and Dnieper Dam are of human construction.

Extensive irrigation of the country will protect us against droughts.

Floods cannot be controlled to such an extent. It is easy to direct the course of a small river but it will be almost an impossible task to turn the course of a big river. The only precaution against flood seems to be to lay in extra reserves in safe places. Our chief salvation lies in mechanising agriculture. A skinny pair of bullocks, that often can hardly stand up for lack of adequate feeding, and the age-old plough cannot support the owner's family. It is ridiculous to think such methods will be able to support a growing population.

Ruthless changes will have to be immediately brought in to improve our agriculture.

In my opinion the following measures should be taken without delay:—

(1) Very big holdings of land should be divided up into workable plots. A plot of land should not be larger than one thousand acres.

If the owners of land are agreeable to use new methods of agriculture, according to a national plan, they should be allowed to retain their land and cultivate it. They must, however, be compelled, at the penalty of forfeiture, to pay a national agreed scale of wages for agricultural workers and provide such other amenities to the workers as would be laid down from time to time by a national agricultural board.

(2) Numerous small-holdings should be collectivised.

It is not possible to cultivate land profitably in small plots. No farm should be smaller than one hundred acres.

When land reform is brought in there will be more opposition from the big landowners against dividing their land than from the small peasants against collectivising their plots.

Amongst the peasants owning a couple of bighas or an acre or two already collective form of cultivation is in existence. After the rainy season the water usually drains away quickly and it is very difficult to till the ground and plant paddy before the ground dries. So it is not uncommon in our villages to pool together all the resources of the village to get over this difficulty. In the harvesting time they adopt similar methods to collect the ripe corn so that it may not go to waste.

Even if through united effort someone's land happens to go dry or ripe corn gets left ungathered then the loss falls entirely on the poor owner and not on the community. With collectivisation, individual loss will be wiped out.

Once the advantages of collective farming are explained to the peasants I am sure they will readily agree to it.

Experimental farms, of course, will have to be of a large size.

(3) *Irrigation.* The whole country will have to be made immune from droughts. While irrigation continues we must immediately experiment with alternative cereals that it may be possible to grow in land affected by droughts. It is only by relentless experiment that U.S.S.R. succeeded in growing vegetables in snowbound Siberia. With determined effort we are also bound to find something useful that will grow in dry land.

(4) *Manure.* To keep the productivity of land unimpaired it is necessary to use manure. Our cultivators are aware of it. I have known them collecting cow dung and carrying it on their shoulders to the fields in a basket. I have also seen them collecting small plants and creepers so that by rotting them they can provide a little manure. Unfortunately these impoverished means, though involving a tremendous lot of labour are hardly sufficient to fertilise even their small plots.

Cow dung is a good manure but how much dung can one collect from a pair of bullocks or from a pair of bullocks and a cow? I have even known cases where a peasant has got a small plot of land but no bullocks at all. In such cases all the wretched soul manages to do is to exchange his personal services for a loan of a pair of bullocks to till his land.

We must immediately establish a number of plants to manufacture manure.

One of the cheapest and best forms of manure can be made from human excrement. Outskirts of cities, where we have got drainage system, are the best locations for establishment of such plants. This will considerably help the manure problem.

Apart from this, fertiliser industries should be established for the fixation of nitrogen from the air. Phosphorus can be extracted from the sea. Potash fertilisers can be made from the saline deposits of the sea, and limestone deposits in various regions of the country will provide calcium carbonate. Plants thrive on these four foods and our agricultural land is short of them. In order to get the best crops from our land we must have an adequate supply of nitrogen, phosphorous, potassium and calcium.

(5) *Rotation of crops* should be carefully studied. Two crops are usually obtained from most lands each year. As soon as the early spring harvest is collected tilling and sowing is done in the same land. The crop of this spring sowing is usually ready just before monsoon.

There is, to my mind, a grave defect in trying to raise the same type of crops year in and year out from the same land. Similar plants extract the same properties from the soil and that, naturally exhausts the land.

A variation of crops will serve the same function to the soil as a variation of diet to us.

(6) *Mechanisation*. Using of bullocks, buffalos and horses for tilling land is really a waste of human energy. Even if it were possible to cultivate all our land with the aid of animals, what about labour? Why should we use labour unnecessarily when with the aid of a few simple machines we can till the soil and collect the harvest.

Considerable labour thus saved can be utilised for road building or other constructional purposes.

(7) *Seeds*. We cannot expect that automatically a swan can be hatched from a duck egg. Selection of seeds is a very important item. In order to get a good crop we should be careful in selecting our seeds. Defective seeds or poor plants can never give good results.

Even after selecting the seeds, in cases where they are not directly sown to the tilled land and need a process of pre-germination one has to take extreme care.

Taking agriculture as a whole we can get a lot of ideas from America and Russia.

America is the granary of the world and Russia has made great strides in agriculture since the revolution. Russia has done an enormous amount of research work and has attained some marvellous results.

Not only can we get ideas from Russia but if we approach her she is sure to pass on some of her agricultural knowledge. A country whose ideal is Communism is hardly likely to refuse to impart knowledge when it means the feeding of the poor masses of another country and we are her neighbours.

With the enemy threatening her very existence and at a time when her own people were staggering under acute privations, Russia did not hesitate to offer us a large quantity of rice in the terrible famine we had during the last war. We will be very ungrateful people if we forget it. After her magnanimous gesture I feel confident that we can get a good deal of help from Russia to improve our agriculture.

(8) In developing agriculture it is also necessary to take precautions against pests.

Large numbers of effigies stuck in the paddy fields on poles have proved a deterrent to flocks of birds.

Regarding locusts (Grasshoppers) sprinkling of ashes of wood soaked in ghee (clarified butter) has, I believe, proved a successful remedy. Even if this is effective I think it will be a very costly method if we had to use it over large areas.

Present method used in some countries is to spray a germicidal substance by plane to get rid of these pests.

I think a cheap 'plane like the helicopter can be successfully used.

Even without a spray, it is quite possible that the noise of an aeroplane flying at a very low altitude and very slow speed can drive these grasshoppers away or stun them to death.

FRUITS, VEGETABLES AND FLOWERS

Indian and Californian fruits are the most luscious in the world. Those grown in other countries have not got the same flavour and sweetness.

Scientific research in fruit cultivation will not only enable us to improve quality, thereby perhaps making ours the best fruits in the world, but we will also be able to develop an enormous export trade after meeting all our home demands.

Particular encouragement should be given to the cultivation of citrous fruits, namely the orange and lemon species. These fruits contain a high percentage of vitamin C, which is very important in our diet. Besides, what drink is more palatable than a glass of orange or lemon squash, except perhaps a glass of pure cold water!

A variety of vegetables are already grown in our country, and these can also be improved with the aid of manure and good seeds. Content of calories in some vegetables is very high, and they thus form a very important part of our diet.

Sugar, which provides energy, has been extensively produced from beetroot.

The cultivation of Nuts should be given a very important place in our plans for food production. Peanuts in particular are easily grown. Besides being very pleasant in their natural form, nuts of all kinds are a great improvement to the taste and nutritive value of sweets and confections of all varieties. In addition, there are numerous products which can be made or extracted from them, such as oil, margarine, soap, animal feeding stuff, etc. They are altogether a very valuable commodity.

Perhaps due to the climatic conditions in India, the

fragrance and beauty of colouring of our flowers are incomparable. Yet unfortunately, like most other things in our country, we have never paid proper heed to horticulture.

Practically without any expenditure and with very little labour, we can beautify our villages and towns.

Essences extracted from our fragrant flowers, as well as bulbs, seeds and fresh flowers can be exported, thus providing the nation with one of the means of getting foreign currency.

Bulgaria exports attar of roses, Holland sends out bulbs of tulips and daffodils and France exports fresh flowers. All these countries do a very considerable trade in these products.

Lastly, what we are needing is determination. We must utilise every inch of our cultivatable land. If in front of our homes we grow flowers, we must grow fruits and vegetables in our back gardens.

We must make full use of our land, and employ every modern method of cultivation known to mankind. Thus, and only thus, will we be able to eradicate the scourge of famine from our land. The well-known Soviet geneticist, Vavilov, has calculated that with modern methods the world can produce 25 times its present quantity of food.

Surely, then, we will be able to grow enough food to feed our population and even have enough to offer to other nations that may need it?

CARE OF ANIMALS

The cow, the buffalo and the goat have been the main sources of our milk supply and the first two also have been the mainstay for cultivating our land.

Most of our animals are in a sorry state; however, as unfortunately the mass of our people are merely skin and bone themselves they can hardly be blamed for not providing adequate feeding stuff for the animals.

In general, our peasants fully realise that even their meagre existence depends to a great extent on the work of their animals, and they value them accordingly. However, certain ill-treatment that the animals get

should immediately be prohibited. People are very quick to whip bullocks and cows mercilessly. True, training may need chastisement in a mild form, and one cannot dispute the fact that there are lazy animals just as there are lazy human beings that can do with a whipping or two, but on the whole there is no justification for beating an animal until it bleeds or falls down.

We must not forget that animals feel pain just as we do, that they bleed or get tired and exhausted just as we do, so it behoves us to treat our animals decently.

To look at one of our diminutive animals today, is almost like looking back at Darwin's theory of the origin of species; one is faced with the difficulty of deciphering whether through the process of evolution our animals are not going back instead of forward, and whether soon we will have to look for them with the aid of a microscope!

In a progressive India, cows, buffalo, goats, horses and elephants must have their proper place, so also the dog and cat. These are useful animals too.

Along with agricultural improvements, we must start growing feeding stuff. Fresh grass and straw are not sufficient, oil-cake, gram and maize should also be included in the food for cows and buffalo.

Dogs are useful as house guards and can easily be trained to look after herds of sheep and cows. In countries like England farmers make extensive use of sheep-dogs. As pets, dogs are very faithful.

Dogs also play a big part on the battlefield, and blood-hounds have been successfully used to track down criminals.

Cats are home pets. Children love to play with them (and should be taught never to molest them). It is wonderful to see how gentle these animals are with young children. They also amply earn their keep by destroying vermin like rats and mice. Both these pests, particularly rats, are carriers of disease, also they do enormous damage to food, clothing and furniture. A lot of people have the idea that cats and dogs must have fish and meat to eat. Both these animals, however, can be trained to be entirely vegetarians, provided they are fed this way from their earliest stage, after leaving their mothers. They do not lose any of their agility or strength through

this diet. One should not forget that the elephant is a vegetarian.

It is often said about cats, that unlike dogs, they prefer places to people; if one moves one's home, for instance, cats are supposed to prefer to stay in the old place and will not move with their owners. I can emphatically state from my own experience that this is a fallacy. Providing one has shown kindness to one's cat, that animal will reward his owner with as much faithfulness and affection as will a dog or any other creature. My cat even calls me every morning, by knocking at my bedroom door about the same time each day. The distinctive trait which a cat possesses is the faculty of retaining its own character and personality, whilst reciprocating your feelings of affection.

Indeed, it is amazing how much amusement and enjoyment one can derive from studying these household pets!

A strict law should be passed prohibiting the maltreatment of all animals. These creatures are just as much a national asset as anything else.

Dispensaries for sick animals should be established all over the country.

Incidentally, one can with research, even make use of wild animals. An anti-toxin is made today in Africa from the venom of snakes, and this is the only known scientific cure for snakebite. It is also used in dentistry. Tiger Oil has long been known as a cure for muscular and joint pains, such as rheumatism and arthritis.

While mentioning this in passing, I am not advocating the rearing of these dangerous animals unless they can be brought under perfect control, and the gains accrued not only counter-balance the dangers, but outweigh them manifold.

DAIRY FARMING

Milk and milk products are essential human food, particularly so in India, where a very large number of people are vegetarians.

Unfortunately our milk production is very poor, and

the little that is available is not very hygienically produced.

With proper feeding of cows and sanitary care, no doubt even the existing ones will start giving a little more milk. Through years of starvation, however, our animals have become such miserable specimens that I doubt if there will be any appreciable difference in our milk production even with improved feeding which must be done as a first step.

In order to get an adequate milk supply we must immediately start Dairy farming. I would like to see in India herds of Jersey cows and Frisian bulls.

These are pedigree animals and are very costly. However, there will be no harm if we make a small start and purchase a few of these cows and a couple of bulls.

It is, of course, not within the reach of the ordinary peasant, but perhaps our Maharajas and other millionaires can be induced to start dairy farms. India has made them rich, and it is up to them to make India rich. Colossal sums are spent by some of them in buying yearlings (untried young race horses) of whom they are not even sure of the results. If, on the other hand, they spend their money on pedigree cows and bulls, they will see the direct benefit by providing the Indian baby with much needed milk and butter, and will earn the gratitude of the nation.

If we cannot find any patriots amongst the rich, then the government will have to take up the work as a national scheme.

In my opinion, model dairy farms should be established on high ground, so that the animals are not affected by floods. Grazing in the lowlands during the summer will help to preserve their feeding stuff for the monsoon season.

Experiments in cross breeding and artificial insemination should be carried out.

Foot and mouth disease is one of the curses of dairy farming. In the Western countries, at the first sign of an outbreak of this disease, the area is segregated and all the animals in that part are destroyed. It seems that the Western world has not yet found a proper cure,

although in February 1947, it was announced by Argentina that one of their scientists has found one, but so far it has not been tried in Western Europe.

In the Eastern part of India, I remember people used to administer certain medicine, compounded (I think) of the froth from the mouth of the sick beast mixed with tender young grass, and this cured them. However, as this is an observation of mine made when only a youngster, I have had no opportunity of going further into the matter, and it would need investigating. The only thing I can be quite certain of, is that whatever the medicine was, it cured the animals of foot and mouth disease.

Another scourge to the herds, is tuberculosis. Cows are very susceptible to this disease, and can pass on bovine tuberculosis to human beings in the milk. Whether such cows can be segregated and cured, or have to be destroyed, I do not know.

Constant veterinary examination of the herds is essential.

The drinking of milk produced under dirty and unhygienic conditions, can pass on germs of typhoid, in the same way as contaminated water. (In doubtful cases of milk or water, it is an elementary precaution to boil them before using, as this kills most germs).

Not only, therefore, must we examine the animals frequently to remove the diseased ones, but we must also take proper care in the distribution and packing of milk.

Milk produced from healthy animals must reach the consumer in pure form.

HOUSING

Wealth of a nation is not the gold or other metal that is kept in the vaults and guarded day and night nor the millions of pieces of paper that a nation prints and puts in circulation with a fictitious exchange value enabling the owners of these papers to convert them into some products of human labour.

Gold and the notes can be called wealth only relatively. Our WEALTH IS what we eat and wear, furniture

that we use, works of art that we possess and admire and the houses in which we live.

In simple words all the products of human labour that go to provide our comfort compositely are called our wealth.

The house we live in, therefore, is one of the chief parts of our national wealth.

A well ventilated and artistically built house is not only comfortable to live in but also pleasing to the eye. More the number of such houses we build better will be the living condition of our people and our national wealth will go up accordingly.

So it is necessary that we build our towns and villages according to a plan.

We cannot break up the old cities at the moment, however squalid they may be as that will create a formidable housing problem.

We can, however, make a start with the new towns. Along with the development of industries new towns will spring up and these should be built from the very start as garden cities.

Schools, libraries, theatres, cinemas, clubs, swimming pools, gymnasiums, hospitals (unless of an isolation type) and administrative offices should be built round a central park. Dwelling houses and shops in separate sections should be built round these. A green belt comprising play grounds and flower gardens should surround the built up areas. Outside the green belt, factory premises, gas, water works, electricity, telephone, bus depots and stations should be built.

Wide roads and pavements with trees and flowers planted on the pavements would make a city beautiful.

After we build a large number of new towns on a model plan it would be easy for us to break up and rebuild the old cities in the latest style.

Particular care should be taken not to build houses in a congested manner. If we suffer from the limitation of space it is better to construct buildings several storeys high but there should always be left ample space between the buildings and there should be reasonable sized front and back gardens.

People in the villages should be encouraged to follow

a miniature scheme of the same type as for the new towns except that as the villages would not have (at any rate for a long time) amenities like water works and drainage and perhaps no factories, the plan can be simplified.

Villages can be built to form a large square. School, library, cinema, shops, village hall and a park in the middle and the houses built round the middle block to take the shape of a square. Streets and pavements should be built on the same wide model as the towns.

As a matter of fact, with very little effort we will be able to build our villages. Once the villagers are organised into co-operative groups and get an assurance of the ownership of a modern new house they will put forth all their energies. They will make their own bricks, all the labour will be available free and with the supplement of a few materials houses will get erected faster than we can realise.

All the persuasion will be needed to build the first village in a district, the others will follow suit.

INDUSTRIES

With all the political despondency, war and famine in India during the last two decades, one exhilarating ray can be discerned in the industrial sphere. In many respects, this ray is more vigorous than can be seen in any other country of the contemporary world, except perhaps for the U.S.S.R.

Due to the fact that we Indians as a nation never had a standard of living that could stand comparison with that of countries like America, England and even France, we have nothing to look back to with regret.

In these post-war days, many people in England and France would like to return to their 1938 standard of living (though the systems of economy followed in these countries prior to 1939 brought in unemployment and suffering to a large number of people). Those were the "good old days" for these countries. As regards we Indians, as we have no "good old days" in the living memory of the present generation, we are in a position

to plan our economy without having any regrets for what we have lost.

Actually, we are decidedly in a better position. We can eliminate all that is bad in the capitalist economy of countries like America and England (which are completely industrialised) and pick up the good points; study the economy of a country like France, where normally agriculture and industry play equal parts; and above all study the methods of a country with a planned economy like the U.S.S.R. which, if it were not for the war, by now would have caught up with many of the Western European countries.

If we extract the good points from these four countries, and apply some of them to India, with such adjustments as are necessary, we should be in a position to develop India on sound economic lines. Observation and experiments will be necessary and we will have to withstand many failures before we can bring in a balanced economy.

For the sake of economic progress, we must forego our religious scruples and ideological differences.

Does one ever hear of a wealthy Hindu beating-up a wealthy Mohammedan, or of a wealthy Mohammedan beating-up a wealthy Hindu? Instead, either party in order to achieve their ends, may incite the starving masses to rise against each other (usually on some trumped-up or lying pretext), but these rich instigators always keep in the background.

If we can raise the standard of living of our people, our communal troubles will vanish.

My purpose here is to discuss the best method by which this can be achieved.

A popular economic theory is that the standard of living of any particular country is dependent on the productive capacity of its people. This theory would have been universally true except for the following two factors :—

1. Production must be based on distribution. Instead of producing goods haphazardly, one must take into consideration the consuming capacity of other countries for those particular commodities, as well as check up on the home consumption. A mistake often committed under

capitalist economy is that for a momentarily increasing return, more goods of a kind are produced than are required, thus causing trade depression through over-production—a sheer waste of material and labour.

2. When one country is under political subjugation or economic control of another, however much the dependent country produces, it never gets adequate reward for its output. The labour of such a country is always valued low. For instance, to produce one penny worth of raw cotton, the grower puts in more labour than is taken to manufacture it into machine-made cloth, yet the machine product is sold at 7d. or 8d. even to the grower.

It is only when commodity values are based on man-hour and when scientific methods are used for production of raw materials that this discrepancy will vanish.

Counting that we can remedy the above two factors, how can we improve our productive capacity?

At the moment, there are three schools of thought :—

HANDICRAFT OR COTTAGE INDUSTRY GROUP

This group bases its formula on Gandhian philosophy, and gives it a wrong interpretation. Mahatma Gandhi took Charkha as a symbol only. We cannot hope to progress economically by working day and night either on the Charkha or on cottage industries. When one's time cannot be better utilised, it is certainly useful to do some work rather than none at all. As pastimes for leisure hours, cottage industries are creative and help to keep up our national artistic taste, and can be very remunerative (I shall be dealing with this matter more fully later). Even people of a highly industrialised nation spend many hours of their leisure just to cultivate a few pretty flowers, or to produce a work of art.

CAPITALIST INDUSTRIALISM GROUP

This group wants to follow in the footsteps of England and America, particularly the latter. They want to introduce all kinds of machinery, induce foreign capital,

establish factories and start manufacturing indiscriminately. If such a course is followed, it will result in over-production and maldistribution, and will finish off in complete economic chaos.

NATIONALISATION GROUP

The pursuers of this idea are mostly militant socialists. They want to nationalise land and industries overnight. Without going into the ethics of such a step, the direct and immediate result would be the flight of capital from the country. Pressure of foreign countries, together with the tricks of our own vested interests, would cause India to suffer considerable setbacks.

Having summarily discussed the ideas of the three prevailing schools of thought, I feel we should adopt the following methods to develop our industries.

HANDICRAFT AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

While we have got to increase our industrial output by using as many modern machines as possible, we must not neglect our home arts and crafts, which form a valuable part of our national artistic heritage. A vast number of beautiful things of present and potential value are produced by this means.

Instead of our people trying to make a living out of it, we should organise these homecrafts in such a manner as to encourage people to use their spare time at home making things to earn additional money.

We should publish arts and crafts magazines in all the provincial languages with illustrated designs and teach people how to make them and above all, when things are produced we should give them guidance how to sell their products in the best possible market, so that they get an adequate return for their labour.

One of the best ways of bringing out hidden talents, is to organize exhibitions of arts and crafts every year on a district, provincial and national scale. Generous prizes should be awarded for the best products, and

exceptionally good works should find their way from a district exhibition to a provincial, and from a provincial to a national exhibition. Eventually we should hold international exhibitions where the very best of our products should be shown.

Handicrafts thus utilised not only arouse world admiration, but can also be a great source of national income.

We have a very large number of handicrafts. People spend much time and energy also just to produce things which they want for their everyday use, things which can be made by machine in a matter of seconds. In such cases, it is just a waste of human labour. It is not that people do not realise this, but unfortunately it is their poverty which compels them either to make the article with their hands, or else go without it.

Without any prohibition from the Government, such things will automatically vanish with the improvement of economic conditions.

We should make a definite distinction between the things that can be economically produced with machines and the things which cannot be produced with machines, or if attempted will lose their artistic value.

It is the group of handicrafts that have artistic value which should be encouraged and developed.

Technical schools for arts and crafts should be established. Experienced craftsmen, whose works are selected for the national exhibitions, should be induced to teach in these schools. These technical schools will need no system of examinations, the work produced by a pupil in a practical school is proof enough of his efficiency.

SMALL INDUSTRIES

Whatever form of government we have now or at a later date, I want to say once and for all that small industries should never be nationalised.

Commodities that have no great national or international demand, are the ones that should come under the heading of "small industries."

If we are to keep free of unlimited industrial troubles

and disputes, small industries should be allowed to remain under private control, although the formation of cartels should be ruthlessly suppressed.

It is quite possible that a private owner can start a variety of small industries in order to make up for the control he loses through nationalisation of big industries. Such enterprise should be encouraged, as long as a man does not control all the manufacturing concerns of a particular commodity throughout the country. There should be no interference whilst there is room for honest private competition, provided we see that for taxation purposes the total profits from all his concerns are counted together.

The reason I strongly advocate the retaining of small industries in private hands is not because I believe in the theory of academic economists that unless the profit motive is kept paramount (as in the case of private enterprise today) people will lose enthusiasm for work. This is a feeble argument. Even if a few capitalists start to slacken, it would not reduce the working capacity of the nation.

My main argument for private ownership of small industries is based on the fact that under nationalisation administrative and executive bodies will be situated far apart. It will need the filling up of lots of unnecessary forms, orders and requests which in turn will mean employing extra staff in the small factories as well as in the administrative quarters.

Whatever may be the strength of our manpower, we cannot carry the burden of feeding and paying a lot of non-productive labour.

Further, too many orders and forms definitely hamper production. However efficient an administrative staff may be, there are bound to be delays in responding to requests from executives and as a result a number of people will be unemployed from time to time.

LARGE INDUSTRIES

It is futile to try to produce something that is needed in large quantities, in too many small factories under too

many ownerships. It is a sheer waste of labour and money.

Different factories mean different administrative staff, too many small buildings and the employment of large numbers of badly needed expert engineers and technicians, as each of the small factories will have to have its own engineer and specialist.

In my opinion, therefore, commodities having national and international demand should be centralised in large factories.

When a large quantity of a particular article is produced in one place, we will be able to use ultra modern machinery and employ the necessary experts with the greatest of economy.

Those industries requiring a large amount of capital, or those needing to employ a vast amount of labour, as well as industries mainly concerned with projects of vital importance to the welfare of the country, should be nationalised.

For the present, mines, iron and steel, gas, water, electricity, railways, shipbuilding, aircraft, armaments, banks, insurance companies and all research work should be nationalised.

With considerable limitations, agriculture also should be included in the programme.

MINES

Minerals and waterways are inherited assets or fixed capital of a country. People have been able to detect certain useful deposits under the crust of the earth's surface, and yet others still remain undiscovered.

No scientist has yet been able to ascertain the exact quantity of wealth that lies buried under the mines that have already been sunk.

When a man gets a plot of land for cultivation or for house building, that land is considered to be of the same apparent or potential value as any other land within its immediate vicinity. If one of these plots of land happens to contain gold or any other valuable deposit, it should not belong to the individual owner of the plot. That

unknown wealth is a part of the nation's capital and should pass on to the community and the man should be given another plot of land together with a suitable reward if he made the discovery of the valuable deposits.

In capitalist countries, when one buys a house or a plot of land, it is not uncommon to find a clause in the title deeds "mines and minerals reserved." In this case, any find of valuable deposits does not go to the nation but to the so-called "superior" landlord, which of course is wrong.

By their very nature, mines should belong to the nation. The only individual who should receive any direct financial benefit out of them is the miner.

Miners' work is not only hard but extremely hazardous. Therefore all the resources of the nation should be exerted to finding ways and means of providing as many safety devices as possible, also to make the conditions of work as attractive as can be.

Considering the dangerous and unhealthy nature of miners' work, only very physically strong men should be allowed to do it. No young person or woman should be allowed to work in the mines.

A five-day working week, totalling not more than 30 hours should be instituted, with a month's holiday with full pay each year. After twenty years' service in the mines, a man should be allowed to retire with a pension based on 2/3rd's of his average wages in the last five years.

Miners should be the highest paid of all manual workers. Apart from basic wages, they should be paid a monthly bonus for production over an expected quota and another bonus just before their annual holiday for regular attendance.

In addition to doctors and nurses being attached to all mines, a compulsory medical examination should take place every month. Every mine must have X-ray apparatus.

If a man happens to contract any disease through working in the mines, he should receive full pay whilst being given free medical attention. If he should be incurable, then the State must look after him for the rest of his life.

Pit-head baths, first-aid room, library, buffet and a lounge should all be established for the miners' special use.

We are aware of the hazards attached to the industry, so every endeavour must be made to make it the most attractive of all as regards wages, amenities and conditions so that the nation's mines will never be short of workers, nor will there be any need for strikes.

Mines under private ownership will never run successfully. The profit motive of the owners and strikes for better pay and conditions by the workers will always hamper production, in this most essential industry. The nation will suffer between the devil and the deep blue sea!

IRON AND STEEL

The heavy industries like Iron and Steel, besides being of great importance to practically every other industry, need a large amount of capital expenditure to run successfully on a proper scale.

The gigantic furnaces, where the metal is reduced to a liquid state need very expert handling. What a magnificent and indeed awe-inspiring sight it is to see the flow of molten liquid fire cascading down from the ovens; it is like a glimpse of Dante's Inferno! How swiftly and surely the masked workers move, like mummers on a gigantic stage!

From a tiny screw to a huge railway engine, unlimited varieties of articles for home and industrial use have to be made by this industry.

Obviously the best way of ensuring proper conditions of work, adequate safety measures, new and up-to-date machinery and elimination of waste through duplication of work is to bring the industry under state ownership.

It is true that at present certain concerns engaged in iron and steel may be running them efficiently, but this is no reason why such an essential industry should remain under private ownership. Exceptions do not prove the rule. Instead, the directors and managing staff of these efficiently run concerns should be invited to help their country to run the nationalised industry.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

(Gas, water, electricity, transport :—railways and shipbuilding)

All those industries that can be included under the heading of public utilities should be nationalised.

I do not doubt the capabilities of private owners to run them but unfortunately the profit motive prevents them from improving these services.

In the past, it has been proved again and again that the bulk of the large profits made by these organisations are mainly distributed to the shareholders in the form of dividends, and very little of it is ploughed back into the industry for the improvement of the services. As long as it runs and brings in dividends, there ends the matter.

Private concerns are not run for the benefit of the community. No owner of an electrical concern or a railway, for instance, will go to the expenditure of thousands of rupees to instal electricity or put in a branch railway line for the convenience of say twenty families. The shareholders would never get back their money from the legitimate charges, whereas under State ownership it is entirely concerned with serving the public. What the country loses by extending these services to twenty distant families is made up by the country as a whole. It is a case of "what is lost on the swings, is gained on the roundabouts."

Privately owned concerns have no such means of recouping. They cannot possibly keep a standard charge for the whole country, which, in my opinion, is important. Only under state ownership can uniformity of charges be maintained.

ARMAMENTS (and Defence)

Armaments represent a loss to any nation that has not got aggressive designs. The same vicious circle continues—an armaments race starts under the assumed name of self-defence.

It seems that civilisation has not advanced far enough

for humanity to realise that war brings in only untold miseries to people and kills or cripples the growing youth of nations who have not even started to live their lives.

We hear and read a lot about peace in between wars. It becomes quite a lucrative proposition to write books on peace and the horrors of war and organise various peace societies with double-barrelled names during the intervals between wars.

Except for a very limited number of thinkers and writers who genuinely believe in peace, books are written and printed to meet the profit motive of the publishers. These "peace" publications, with a few exceptions, are simply products of demand and supply.

The majority of the peace societies, on the other hand, are formed by the elite of society. Social parasites, who have nothing productive to do and who manage to fill their coffers during a war, are usually the founders of these organisations.

Instead of this conglomeration of so-called Peace Fellowships and societies, to my mind the only effective way of fostering international understanding is for groups of workers, artisans and professional people to visit other countries and stay as the guests of their opposite numbers. These visits, naturally, should be returned by the people of the other land; in this way mutual tolerance and friendship is bound to result, and one of the worst breeding-grounds for hatred between nations, namely ignorance, will have been destroyed once and for all. Actually, these aforementioned fellowships or societies do not try to foster understanding between nations. Apart from the private activities of a personal nature, they definitely form centres for intrigue. They manipulate one nation against another, and always manage to wriggle out if their intrigues fail.

I saw a lot of these in England prior to 1939. These sets and friendship societies encouraged Germany to attack Russia, but instead it ended up in a world conflagration. Russia was attacked, but England had to attack too.

These societies, instead of standing trial as war criminals along with their Nazi friends at Nuremburg are just having a good time with further accumulated

wealth, and some of them are already busy reviving their old societies.

It is amusing to note that in the 1914-18 war the two imperialist countries, Czarist Russia and England fought as allies until half-way through, when imperialist Russia collapsed. In the recent war, Soviet Russia came in part of the way and fought the war out together with Imperialist England.

My whole idea in giving the above details is to show that despite all the professed friendships and animosities, if a war breaks out, no-one can definitely say which powers will fight whom. With all the not-too-friendly atmosphere about Russia in England today, it would not be a surprise to me if in case of another war, England and Russia join together from start to finish.

We Indians have got no enemies. We want to live by our own labour in our own land, and as soon as we can improve our economic position we want to help other nations to do the same. Our professed creed is non-violence and we want to remain non-violent.

Unfortunately, however, we are not in a position to mould the characters of other nations.

If the nations will only surrender their authority to a society like the United Nations and settle their disputes by a majority decision, armament manufacture will gradually come to an end. Instead it looks as if the United Nations' organisation is going to follow in the footsteps of the late lamented League of Nations. Even before the gathering has found a roof over its head, already the big powers are jockeying for positions.

Lust of power renders nations, just like individuals, blind to justice. Who would have dreamt that Holland, having had her own beautiful city of Rotterdam razed to the ground and getting her own liberty restored to her by the mercy of other nations, would not have realised what foreign domination means? Yet her behaviour in Indonesia goes to prove that she has not learnt her lesson still.

The same, only perhaps a bit worse, can be said of France. The land that still commemorates the fall of the Bastille, and which is the centre of European art, culture and music, whose national symbol is Egalité, Liberté,

Fraternité, having herself been subjugated and humiliated by the foreign invader, does not seem to have realised the meaning of the very ideals she displays on her public buildings.

Travelling to Europe as a youth from a dependency, when our boat reached the gateway of France, the thing that impressed me from the first land contact of Europe was the slogan—Equality, Liberty and Brotherhood written in French on a building in Marseilles, which one cannot avoid seeing from the gangway.

I wonder how would an Indo-Chinese youth be impressed today as his boat touches Marseilles?

Incidentally, apart from the ethics of the matter, what an opportunity Britain lost of establishing firm trade relations with Indonesia and Indo-China, if instead of actively assisting Holland and France to crush the freedom of these nations she had just kept quiet!

The curious part of it all is that France today has got a government where Communists are the largest single party and together with the Socialists have an overwhelming majority but unfortunately they have not yet learnt their lesson from history and formed a "United Front." Let us hope there is not a "TALL" story in the background, shaping France's destiny!

Is it then strange that the democratic republic of Spain was crushed when France had a popular government under "socialist" Mon. Blum, which together with England under the umbrella of Chamberlain joined hands and piously decided on NON-INTERVENTION.

General Franco still rules, though if I remember correctly, a battalion of volunteers in the immortal International Brigade fought carrying a banner bearing the name of the present British Prime Minister—the Rt. Hon. C. Attlee.

I am recounting all this to show that for the time being we are powerless to do anything more than retain the ideal of non-violence in our hearts and hope for such days when we will be powerful enough to preach it to the world, but in the interim period we must arm.

I do not know who will want to invade our Motherland. One hears lots of gossip. Some say America or Russia will walk in as soon as England leaves; others say

England will have to bring India back under her control. I do not see any reason why either Russia or America will want to invade us any more than England will want to re-conquer us. Someone will no doubt say China or even Albania will want to conquer us.

The reality is that our defences must be such that we do not care which way the wind blows. If anybody wants to pollute our soil as a conquering hero, we will crush him as he deserves.

I am not a military strategist to be in a position to give guidance in our armament programme.

In the chapter on location of industries, I am going to give a few details on how best to protect our vital industries in case of invasion of our land. Apart from that, all I can say is, Armaments being a vital industry for the protection of our Motherland, it should be nationalised.

Private owners of armament factories must sell their output to keep themselves going, and they cannot possibly keep pace with the constant change and improvement that is needed to keep armaments up-to-date. They will either sell to the nation or to foreign countries. Under no circumstances should armaments or the raw materials used for manufacturing them be sold to foreign countries. As a nation, *our solemn pledge* should be not to sell *instruments of death*.

Our defence armaments should be of our own design and make. When two countries standardise their arms and equipment, other countries are bound to look on them with eyes of suspicion, as to all appearances it looks like a military pact.

We should, however, come forward to help countries with whom we establish cordial relations if they become the victims of unprovoked aggression. I would particularly like to draw the attention of Britain to this fact.

We should convert our army into a citizen's army. I have already mentioned about physical training in the last two years of secondary education. It should be followed by a course of military training of say three months per year for four years. As we do not intend to invade other people's territory and have no intention of

doing police work for other colonising powers, our army should be taught entirely for defence. Guerilla warfare should be the main theme.

I think that we should never sign any convention or protocol for "humane" warfare. War is not humane and never will be.

If anybody dares to invade our land we will deal with them in a manner they deserve. We will not keep the invaders for slave labour as prisoners of war, neither will they ever go back.

BANKS

Banks as we know them are institutions through which money changes hands. They mainly trade with other people's money, and the organisers derive handsome dividends out of the transactions.

There are a few privately-owned banks where the individual owner is so rich that his credit holds good for any big transaction and the owner is personally liable for all the activities of his bank. Not many of these individually owned banks are left in Europe or Asia.

Most of the big banks today are owned by public limited companies. This does not mean that they are owned by the nation; a group of private people retains the controlling shares and guides or conducts the business.

Very rarely one finds a big bank where all the issued shares have been fully paid. They simply carry on because of the goodwill they establish. It is much like an ordinary wholesale business, once a good name has been established, the entire trade can be carried on on credit.

If at any given moment all the depositors or even a few big depositors want to withdraw all their money from a bank, it will most likely be unable to meet its obligations, because the biggest part of the depositors' money has already been invested elsewhere (at a higher rate of interest than the bank pays, you may be sure!) A "run on the bank" as this is called, can often compel it to close its doors for good.

I have shown, then, that what a bank needs is goodwill and when this goodwill is backed by the resources of the

whole nation it can be enabled to play a marvellous part in the improvement of a country.

In order to carry out our prodigious development programme, we must, in my opinion, establish two types of banks, both under national control. One kind should be called the "People's Bank" and the other called the "Merchants' Bank."

These two groups of banks should be kept entirely aloof and must not encroach on each other's territory.

First I will explain what I mean by the *People's Bank*. These banks should be established in the largest possible numbers throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Present post office savings banks should be included in their activities, and workers should be encouraged to open savings accounts, even if they deposit one anna at a time—they should be given a pass book. A small rate of monthly interest should be added as soon as a worker saves a rupee. Thrift must be encouraged.

The People's banks should deal in internal currency only (I shall deal with this internal currency in the chapter on finance). They should advance money at small rates of interest to the peasants and small traders and should buy the surplus produce of the cultivators at the best possible price, selling it at a small margin of profit.

It should be the function of these banks to buy agricultural machinery and loan them out to the collective or other farmers at a rental to cover the wear and tear.

Precisely, these *People's* banks should be like *co-operative societies*, including in their functions not only the receiving of deposits and advancing of money to trade and agriculture, buying and selling of agricultural produce, but by a gradual process they should become general stores as well. They should deal in as many requirements as possible of the community.

All the People's banks in a district should be controlled and guided by a district People's bank, which should in turn be regulated by a provincial People's bank. The Provincial People's Bank must be in a position to lay down the laws governing the different small banks, and regulate and control the prices of produce.

A limit of the total amount of deposit of an individual

in this bank should be fixed at say Rs2,000, and of a collective farm or group say Rs10,000.

All transactions carried on by the People's Banks should be free of stamp duty.

The *Merchants' Banks* will deal mainly in imports and exports, financing of large industries and provincial development schemes. At the initial stage of our programme, it is not necessary to have too many of these banks. We will have to be careful of our imports. The less the number of these banks we have, the easier the scheme will function. For a small province with a limited number of exportable goods, two banks are sufficient. Larger provinces should have four or five, situated in different parts of the province.

Unlike the People's banks, the Merchants' banks would not deal in small sums. As their activities therefore will mainly be of very large denomination, they must work directly under the Finance minister of a province.

These banks will only deal in gold or external currency (whatever may be the recognised international currency of the day) though they will receive deposits and make payments within the country in internal currency. The rate of exchange for foreign currency will be fixed by the central National Merchants' Bank, basing its value on the strength of our export trade and outside obligations.

The Merchants' banks will accept large deposits, say not less than Rs1,000, advance money against bills of lading, receive payments from foreign countries and pay money to foreign countries.

The rate of interest paid for the deposits in these banks should be only one-third that of the People's banks. A regular percentage commission for its banking work should be charged, just like any bank operating today.

If these two types of banks are to function smoothly, it is very necessary to have sharp difference in the rate of interest paid by the two banks.

By putting a limit of Rs2,000 for an individual and Rs10,000 for a collective group in the People's bank, I have covered the humble man and the small collectives.

If the rate of interest were the same for both types of bank, there would be a tendency amongst people

(especially where the joint family system prevails) to combine and put their savings together in one name in the Merchants' banks; similarly if a limitation is not put upon the amount of deposit in the People's banks, wealthy people would simply flood them with big deposits for the higher rate of interest.

There should be stamp duty on all transactions of the Merchants' banks, and no ceiling limit to the amount of deposit.

Big money must be utilised by the country at the lowest possible rate of interest. Low rate of interest does not, as is erroneously supposed by so-called financial editors, produce inflation, nor is inflation caused by higher rates of wages, provided they are regulated, as I shall explain later, but is caused by unchecked profits.

The Merchants' banks must not only work immediately in consultation with the finance minister of the province, but they must be compelled to deposit a large portion of their profits in the Central National Merchants' Bank, which should be situated in the capital city of the country. This should be, as its name implies, the nation's Central bank.

At the discretion of the Finance Minister of the Central Government, loans will be advanced to the provincial Merchants' banks from this national central bank when needed, for financing industries or development schemes.

Ultimately we have to pay for our imports with exports, and with skilful handling of our banking system we can easily manage to surmount any difficulties.

Some of the existing banks can be converted into Merchants' banks, but they simply cannot take the place of the People's banks.

No other banks than these two types should be allowed to operate in the country.

The system of dual currency which I have advocated can easily be operated in a large country like ours, with her vast potential resources.

INSURANCE

Insurance companies, of which we seem to have a very large crop at present, mainly function to compensate

successors at the death of a person, or pay indemnity for loss by fire, theft or other contingencies of similar type against the collection of heavy premiums.

A reasonable proportion of these companies even after collecting premiums over a period, try to evade payment at the simplest pretext.

As the very name implies, insurance means safeguard, but unfortunately the insurance companies do not safeguard the community against ill-health, unemployment and the insecurity of old age. Individual insurance companies are not philanthropist bodies. The handsome and sometimes enormous dividends that they declare, even after deducting fabulous administrative and incidental expenses, go to prove that these private insurance companies keep more than a fair proportion of the premiums for the exclusive use of the shareholders.

Insurance should be extended to the whole nation. Every working person, from the head of the government downwards, must be compelled to pay 5 per cent. of their salary or wages to a national insurance fund. The deduction should be made at the source.

In return for this, every person when ill, unemployed or becoming old should receive a minimum (but not meagre) regular payment, with a graded higher scale in proportion to their contribution.

By adopting this simple scheme, we will banish the fear that is in most workers' minds of insecurity in their old age.

Children's nurseries, hospitals, rest homes for the aged and infirm, convalescent homes, and similar amenities can all be financed from this fund.

Insurances against fire, burglary, etc., should be carried on in separate offices, but all premiums should go to swell the national fund.

A nationalised insurance scheme will prove a great source of income for all our health services.

Our aim should be how best we can serve the needs of our people, so that the twin horrors of unemployment and starvation can be banished from our land.

TECHNICAL SCHOOLS AND RESEARCH

"We are withholding from them," wrote Macaulay, "the learning for which they are craving; we are forcing on them the mock learning for which they nauseate." This can very easily be applied to our technical studies.

With a large population like ours, if my memory serves me correctly, I can only account for the following technical schools and research institutions in the whole country :—

1. Victoria Technical Institute in Bombay.
2. Tata Institute of Science at Bangalore.
3. Schools of Art at Lucknow and Lahore.
4. Roorkee College of Engineering.
5. Sibpur College.
6. College of Science at Poona.
7. College of Engineering at Madras.
8. School of Forestry at Dehra Dun.
9. College of Agriculture at Pusa.
10. Sydenham College of Commerce.
11. A sprinkling of medical schools and colleges in different parts of the country.

I may have forgotten one or two, but I think my omissions are not many. Instruction given in most of these institutions is of a very imperfect nature.

Even if the teaching standard is brought to a high level (which will no doubt be done) can we possibly progress as a modern nation with so limited a number of technical schools and research institutes?

These are not the things we should leave to private enterprise to meet the national demand.

We must make technical education and scientific research a part of the whole social fabric closely connected at every stage with productive processes.

Not only must we establish large numbers of technical schools to turn out skilled engineers and technicians for our workshops, we must also have a great quantity of scientific research centres.

The research scientist will not only look for new discoveries, try out experiments in laboratories and

factories and immediately pass on any improved methods that he discovers, but he must also co-operate in solving the difficulties of the engineer or technician which will arise from time to time.

To put it in the words of a great poet, the function of the scientist in modern India must be :—

"Type of the wise who soar but never roam
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home."
Wordsworth.

Not only in the field of Engineering, but right through the whole structure of our research world, the same method must be applied.

Apart from the grant for general education, 5 per cent. of our national income should be spent on research work.

DANGERS and DEFECTS of NATIONALISATION

Dangers of nationalisation are of a temporary nature though these can be so formidable that unless adequate measures are taken they can crush the whole system. These dangers emanate from four sources.

1.—From the ordinary man of the country who does not like to see any change in the existing structure of society. He is unable to foresee the benefits that will accrue to him under nationalisation and his fear is aggravated by the propaganda of the second and third group. The ordinary man, once made to understand, soon changes. He has everything to gain.

2.—From small independent traders and landowners. These people always like to hobnob with their richer counterparts. Their ambition is to elevate themselves to the richer group. They are not easily convinced. They cannot judge that what appears to be loss to them is amply made up by the amenities they receive and ultimately they will be much better off. In their case explanation, persuasion, and sometimes punishment is necessary.

3.—Wealthy and intellectual bourgeoisie are the most formidable opponents. Of the two the wealthy is

definitely a great loser under nationalisation scheme. As he enjoys all the national and international luxuries that money can buy, nationalisation is definitely a great loss to him. In self-defence he revolts and pours out money for propaganda, intrigues and sabotage work. If a nation can persuade him to become a national hero by sacrificing his wealth for the betterment of the community, then the nationalisation programme becomes considerably easier. A nation on the move can soon crush a few individuals, but if progress can be achieved without violence, action will be rapid.

From the survey of our rich people in India, and having had the opportunity of coming in personal contact with a fair number of Maharajas and Nawabs and other wealthy people, I feel and hope that a tangible proportion of them, if tackled the right way, will be agreeable to accept the title of "National Hero." Unlike the White Russian Princes and the Kulaks, I think a large number of our wealthy people will join wholeheartedly in our National programme. With all the tragic bloodshed hovering round the question of Pakistan and Hindustan, I noticed all the rich countrymen I have met seem ready to sacrifice for the development of the country. Whether it is only to get rid of the British who are there as a third party, and thereafter to establish a brown oligarchy in place of the white, I do not know, and only time will tell. We must *in any case* keep a watchful eye on them. Either they can be worshipped as heroes of the country, or go down to ignominy.

The intellectual bourgeoisie is a formidable foe. This group is financed by the rich, but they are the brains behind all propaganda and anti-development schemes. This is one group of people with whom I have simply no sympathy. For them I would violate the creed of non-violence wherever necessary without hesitation. These people have not only the culture and learning of the whole world at their disposal, they can also see, if they will, the agonies of the masses of India for themselves.

Even from the purely selfish standpoint, an intellectual man will have nothing to lose under a nationalisation

scheme. Should India even become a socialist country in its truest sense, these people will be more valued in most cases than they are now.

As it would be neither a case of ignorance nor personal loss, the "intellectuals" must get the severest punishment of all if any one amongst them turns out to be a saboteur of the national plan.

4.—Foreign Sabotage of our internal programme can be a very real danger. Foreign countries can stop legitimate trading relations with us, and are quite within their rights to do so, but if any country does take such a course, our government should take a solemn vow never to trade with such a nation again. We should take steps to stop even indirect exports to these countries. (In my opinion, such steps should be taken at present against South Africa).

Our path will be arduous, but we shall succeed even if we are deprived of trade relations with half-a-dozen other countries. If we stand up to it, others will be the losers, and not us.

Subterfuges adopted by foreign saboteurs can take many forms, *e.g.* sending of wreckers amongst foreign experts, spying, financing wreckage work through consulates and embassies in the country and the landing or dropping of saboteurs from abroad.

DEFECTS

One of the gravest defects of nationalised industry is the distance between the people who issue the instructions and those who carry out the orders.

For the efficient running of an industry, I think we should take a few precautions.

First of all, groups of factories in a town must have an administrator whose job it will be to report on the progress of the work to a central authority, but who can take decisions himself, excepting where it is likely to involve a strike.

Then, whether privately or nationally owned, every factory must have a small works committee, composed of elected workers' representatives and managing staff, to

decide issues. If they cannot agree, they should refer the dispute to the local administrator for his decision.

Precisely, there must be a man on the spot, attached to groups of factories, who can take decisions in most matters.

LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES

For localisation purposes, industries must be divided into two broad categories, first those which are directly connected with activities in war time and second those which are needed to conduct our country in time of peace.

Industries which would be essential in time of war, such as all armaments; and a skeleton set of factories producing essential foodstuff and clothing, etc., should be located in districts affording a certain amount of natural protection, like valleys between hills or small mountains. Such situations are very difficult targets to bomb from piloted planes and flying bombs or similar missiles cannot be very accurately directed.

As far as possible, too, these war factories should be built underground. So far, the known types of bombs (even including the latest "improvement," atom bombs) do not manage to cause a great deal of damage underground. War factories should not be built in coastal areas, or within shelling range of warships.

Large caves in different parts of the country are ideal spots either to store or manufacture armaments.

Several *factories operating as independent units, but manufacturing the same kind of arms*, should be set up in different parts of the country, so that in case of possible landing or dropping of an airborne army by the enemy in certain places, we will not find ourselves without arms.

It may sound rather pessimistic to plan for war production in time of peace, but far better to prepare whilst hoping for world enlightenment and never to use them than be caught unprepared.

With regard to location of our general industries, we must take the following factors into account:—

1.—Inventory must be taken of our national resources in raw materials and power potentialities. This will

involve a tremendous amount of work for specialists like Geologists, to discover minerals, to prospect for oil, etc. With determination, and a full understanding of our purpose, new and hitherto undreamt of wealth will be discovered, especially when the work is backed by the resources of a great country. This "voyage of discovery" must be a continual process.

2.—As far as possible, factories should be established where raw materials are found, obviating waste of time and money in transporting materials and then retransporting the finished products.

3.—Facilities of existing transport and possibilities of their extension must be studied. An alternative mode of transport should always be taken into consideration.

4.—Where necessary, re-distribution of existing factories must be carried out to fit in with the National plan.

5.—Equitable distribution of our industries is essential, particularly to outlying districts, so that we obviate any of them becoming depressed areas.

6.—The working capabilities and tendencies of the local population and possibilities of quickly training them to become skilled hands must be examined. No use of having an agricultural machine industry in a fishing village.

7.—How much of the goods produced will be required by the people of the surrounding districts should be taken into account. No use making wool blankets in the south and transporting them all the way to the north. People in the north are the main users of wool blankets and these should be manufactured there.

In the planning of industries care must be taken that by congesting them in certain areas we do not create a vast transport problem for the future.

I would have liked to give full details of a large number of industries for their construction, plan and location but before attempting such a venture I must spend a reasonable length of time in different parts of the country.**

**Unfortunately for an ordinary person like myself, movement these days is pretty difficult. For two years I have been trying to get two passages to India without any success.

All I can say for the present is we should try to manufacture those commodities first for which we are paying out the most amount of money to the outside world, particularly if the raw materials are available in our own country.

FOREIGN EXPERTS

Experts are not plentiful in any country. Mediocre people often pass as specialists, but for our purposes we will have to bring in really competent people.

Such people are highly paid in their own country and are very rarely unemployed. Naturally, very few of them would leave their own country unless they receive very tempting offers as far as salary and conditions are concerned.

We should not look for all the experts in one country. Different places have got different methods and as we will be paying them well, we must try to get the best available brains from all parts of the world, to help us start our factories. To name but a few—we could get ship-building and engineering experts from England, electrical and heavy industrial experts from Germany, food canners from California, silk and fine fabric designers from France, agricultural experts from U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., paper pulp advisers from Scandinavia, glass-ware and pottery experts from Czechoslovakia and Japan and tobacco specialists from Turkey. These would be a useful collection.

We will have to bring these people on a contract basis of 5 to 10 years. It can reasonably be expected that when some of them live in the country and help to build up an industry, *they may not want to leave.* Often people *like to see the full fruits of their labours.* In such cases, they should be able to get our nationality without any fuss and bother. The country should be pleased to honour them out of gratitude for their services as pioneers.

With a view to this, we should try to bring young married people with their families, as well as the older ones.

One of the best sources of getting a large number of experts may be the floating Jewish population of Europe. Jews are an Eastern race and many of their customs, habits and manners are akin to ours. They are definitely an industrious people. Of course, they have their faults, like anyone else. There is a false belief prevalent amongst people who usually do not know them, that all Jews are rich and are "money-grabbers." I can only say that there are plenty of poor ones, and the percentage of wealthy Jews is no more than the percentage in any other race. As far as the other belief is concerned, it is nonsense. Anyone that has come in contact with these people a great deal, either in friendly or other capacity can bear me out when I say that they are more liberal in money matters than otherwise. They usually pay their employees very well, but they certainly do expect in return proper hard work.

Whilst not squandering their money, they like to eat and live well, and they also believe in saving a bit. This latter quality one can hardly blame them for. From time immemorial country after country has at some time in history suddenly used them as the proverbial scapegoat and they have been forced to flee. It is at such times that their wealth is the only thing that can save them, helping them to settle in another country. We must not forget that wealth has neither nationality nor boundary.

In my opinion, we should allow a certain number of Jews, in addition to specialists, to settle in our country. Considering the position of these people, it would be very wrong if we only wanted the experts. Let us instead take in a number of families to each expert we get. We will find that most of the people have got a fair amount of technical knowledge, and will prove an asset to us.

By suggesting that we take in others, as well as technical experts, I do not mean that Jews should not have a national home. On the contrary, it was about time that civilised humanity made a concerted effort to settle them in a country that they can call their own, and that England in particular kept her promise, instead of caging them behind barbed wire and regulating their movements to the flow of oil.

Besides bringing in foreign experts, we should send out our young people to other countries to study their methods and help bring in improvements.

My advocacy of absorbing foreign nationals into our country may sound strange when we have at the moment so much of bloodshed in the country over communal matters. But with education and improvement in economic conditions these things will vanish. The U.S.S.R. has 150 nationalities within their borders, but there are no communal troubles there since the Soviet regime improved the condition of the masses.

Have we forgotten the lessons of history? Did not Austro-Asiatics, Dravidians, Mongols, Greeks and Christians come and settle in India? No doubt there was bloodshed. Some left, but others stayed and became citizens of our country.

No nation in the world can claim pure blood or a pure religion. In fact, it is the mixture of culture and blood that makes a nation mighty. Just study the history of England and America and see how many races have been merged into them before they became mighty.

Is any one religion pure, in the sense that it is absolutely unique and unaffected by any other? On the contrary, all religions known to mankind have certain essential ideas in common.

We do not want to imitate the farcical racial theories of the late totalitarian regime in Germany, nor do we want to create any "honorary Aryans."

The rising youth of India will not tolerate these racial and religious warfares.

It does not matter what religion a man or woman professes, if they will come to India to use their hands and brains for the betterment of our country, let us extend to them not only our shelter, but our Nationality.

WAGES AND PROFITS

WE WORK TO LIVE AND DO NOT LIVE TO WORK. If our people do the work they must get a living wage. Whether it is the State or the private individual that happens to be the employer, a worker

must get an adequate living wage. He is entitled to the benefits accrued or derived from his labour.

An employer who does not pay or cannot afford to pay his employees decent wages is either a blood-sucker or a bad organiser as the case may be. He should not be allowed to remain in business, instead he should be compelled by the authorities to become a worker.

If the state-owned industries cannot pay a living wage the rulers of the country should be removed by the people. Whatever may be the ideological allegiance of the ruling group, if they cannot feed the people they must not be allowed to rule the country.

The tenure of office of the government of a country should be based and judged on the amount of good they do to the inhabitants, namely the welfare of the masses. This is lacking in a capitalist regime and people in most countries today are trying to establish "government of the people, for the people, by the people."

Human beings all the world over are realising the cause of their miserable plight. It is a struggle between the possessors and the dis-possessed, or the "haves" and "have-nots."

The privileged group, in order to retain their power, tried to impose fascism to bolster themselves up but by a combination of circumstances they got a blow. For the present, therefore, the fascist beast is underground, but is not dead. The people must keep a very vigilant watch, if they want to gain their birthright of food, work and leisure.

A minimum living wage scale for the worker should be ascertained on the basis of productive capacity of the nation as a whole, then different higher scales for individual industries should be fixed according to the type of work and output capacity of the individual worker. The latter should take the form of an output bonus.

Thus while every worker will get his minimum wage based on cost of living, his individual effort for extra output will be covered by a bonus.

As the nation's productive power rises, wages should rise in proportion. I have already mentioned that regulated wage increases do not bring inflation.

When a country produces more goods, the increased wages that a worker gets enables him to buy more of the products of the country. The increased wages only function as a better purchasing power of the worker. Naturally it needs no explanation that if there are haphazard wage increases it leads to inflation. Too much money chases too few consumable or useable goods. This is the chief cause of inflation in war-time. Large numbers of people are drawn into the fighting forces and ammunition factories, as a result production of useable goods gets less and less as the war proceeds.

The money that people draw from various sources, during a war, buys up the existing stock of goods in the shops. Once sold, due to lack of production, shops cannot get replacement and as a result people offer more and more money to satisfy their need for goods. Prices go up and up and the purchasing power of the wage earner goes down and down.

In normal circumstances when wages are increased in accordance with the improved output, there cannot be any inflation from this source.

Under a capitalist system, one of the main causes of inflation is unchecked profit. The bigger the dividend a firm declares, the better the reputation it gets. A high dividend is the beloved baby of the investing world. Little do the people realise that these high dividends are a result of either low wages that the firm pays to its employees, or of excessively high prices that it charges for its products. Almost in all cases, high dividends are the result of either one or a combination of both of the above two factors.

Even if by pressure, the worker manages to get say one penny per hour rise in his rate, the manufacturer, instead of just adding the additional labour cost to his product, puts on an extra profit for himself as well. Thus the whole thing goes on in a merry-go-round fashion, and brings in inflation.

If on the other hand we put a strict limit on profit, the increase that the worker gets, based on production, will very rarely have to be passed on to the consumer as an increase in price, as it will be covered by larger output.

There will be harmony between wages and production but this cannot happen with unchecked profit.

Basing on the profits so far declared in 1947, I think it can safely be said that the workers in all the capitalist countries would be justified in claiming higher wages in most of their industries, without allowing any alteration in the present retail prices. Even then there will be a respectable dividend left for the shareholders.

The difference between the sum paid to the wage-earners and the total sum drawn off from the industries is really becoming astronomical. These huge profits ultimately force countries to go to war. The recipients of big profits have a large surplus left over after meeting all their whims and fancies and this surplus must be invested to earn more profit. So new factories are started and more goods are produced, with no equivalent consuming power in the hands of the people who produce them. The result is foreign markets have to be looked for, which are not very easily available.

Capital gets exported to other countries in the form of loans, so that these countries can buy the exported goods. Thus begins the "spheres of influence," the struggle for dictation and domination and it finishes up with a war. Hardly is one war over than the same process starts all over again. That is the chief cause of unending wars.

Unbridled profit is not only the root cause of war, but even between the wars people starve, yet profits must be kept up. In order to keep their profits unimpaired, capitalists have the wickedness to burn or dump food and restrict production.

It is an open secret that bananas, after being brought all the way from Jamaica to England, are often dumped overboard; or that whole catches of herrings are thrown back into the sea off the coasts of Britain; that coffee has been burnt in Brazil, and restrictions placed on the planting of tea in India, all in the unholy campaign of keeping up profits.

In Europe today, people are desperately short of tea and coffee, (amongst other things). Tea is strictly rationed in England, yet even now there is a limit for plantation in the tea gardens of Assam. Any extension

or new plantation must have the sanction of the governing body.

India must learn a lesson, and fix her plan to check profits and increase wages along with increased output.

We cannot make everybody rich, but nobody needs to be poor. The rulers must base their economic policy on four simple words :— DIVIDE AND SHARE ALIKE.

TRADE UNIONS

The primary purpose of trade union organisations has been to safeguard conditions and wages of labour in private enterprise under a capitalist system.

In an economic system developed for the people, by the people's representatives the bartering function of the trade unions will and should come to an end. Such an economic system will not engender strikes, hence can one assume that trade unions will no longer be necessary?

In my opinion, one cannot say this, on the contrary the workers should organise themselves more firmly.

Certainly the major portion of the unions' present-day activities will cease, but there will still be a large number of small industries being run under private ownership. It will be the duty of the trade unions to keep an eye on the welfare of those workers, and also to see that the administrative body of the nationalised industries does not betray the people.

Another function of the unions will be to devise all means in their power to increase output, to select the best workers for special awards and to elect their representatives to the controlling bodies.

It should also be the responsibility of the trade unions to organise workers' educational classes, form discussion groups and organise holiday camps and sports.

They must also undertake the arrangements for international holidays, on a reciprocal basis. All details such as accommodation, entertainment and comfort of our foreign guests should be the responsibility of the unions.

All office bearers in the unions should be elected by the workers, and these officials must be subject to recall if, in the opinion of a majority of the electorate, they do not properly carry out their duties.

ADMINISTRATION

Central and Provincial assemblies should be composed of the elected representatives of the people. Under the present electoral system the vote is not extended to the community at large and thus it cannot be said that the present elected bodies represent all the people.

One argument put forward is that when the mass is not literate, it is not possible to extend the voting right to every individual. This is all nonsense. What percentage of the voters in the western democracies analyse the electoral manifesto? It is only the party machine that works. Often people are asked to vote for candidates whom they have never seen or heard of prior to an electoral campaign.

To mention my own experience, since reaching eligible voting age, so far I have always made use of my vote in England. For reasons beyond my comprehension, I have got the right to vote twice for the election of one parliament. However, as I believe this to be a wrong method, I have only used one of my votes. Being a non-party man, I try to study the candidates carefully, but often I have found this extremely difficult because of my ignorance of the candidates' achievements.

Let us not follow these sort of tricks in India. A democracy must be either democratic, or go under.

Each person over the age of sixteen should have the right to vote. One finds there is more enthusiasm and thirst for knowledge amongst the younger people than amongst their elders. Parliamentary candidates will have to prove themselves to be real people of merit before they can draw votes from youth.

There should be one representative for every forty thousand electors in the provinces. In all cases, the

candidates should be local inhabitants, or persons whose social work and abilities are known to the people from whom they seek election.

At our present stage, it will be rather difficult for everybody eligible for the vote, to do so in person, particularly when one remembers the transport difficulties in remote parts of India. For the time being, therefore, it will be best for each village to select representatives from their midst, to vote for them for the provincial assemblies. They should be selected on the basis of one to each hundred villagers (or less if the village contains under a hundred voters). Each vote cast by these village representatives should count, not as one vote, but as the number that they represent.

There should not be any representation based on religious or sectarian grounds.

It is disgusting to reflect that the small percentage to whom the voting right has been extended so far, has found it impossible to agree. Has our education been so defective that personal interests and self-aggrandisement have been allowed to supersede the motherland's welfare? Let those people beware, who are responsible for encouraging fratricidal calamities! History teaches us that crimes like these invariably revert back to their originators.

Let us look to it that our education is such that people will be considered on their merits as individuals, and not as members of religions, or sectarian groups. Once we can think of a man as a fellow-countryman, irrespective of his religion, we will be on the road to peaceful government.

The members of the provincial assemblies must elect the members of the central assembly on a basis of one representative to eight provincial members.

If, after election to the central or provincial assemblies, members do not carry out their mandate, then the electors should be able to recall them and send fresh representatives, provided the majority vote decides on this course.

The provincial and central assemblies thus formed, will not be unwieldy bodies, and at the same time they will be representative of the people.

In my opinion, we do not need to have "upper houses" either in the centre or in the provincial assemblies, just because other countries have them. In a true democracy, we will not need any higher authority to veto the decisions of the properly elected representatives. Upper houses may be very useful things in which to house Maharajas, Nawabs and Zemindars, but as I have already mentioned, most of them can be persuaded to take more active part in the development programme of the country and will not need to sit in separate establishments, and the others should be pensioned off.

PLANNING BOARDS

"As you sow, so shall you reap." The future of our country will depend entirely on the plans we put forward and on how swiftly and efficiently we execute them.

Plans must be made absolutely clear-cut. First things must come first. In this connection, Education, Agriculture, Localisation of Industries, Health services, Banks and Scientific research should be the first things for which we should immediately set up Planning Boards.

In my opinion, we should divide the planning boards into three sections, National, Provincial and District.

In the National group, five or seven people (but not more) should sit in the capital, and draw up a plan for a particular development scheme. They should be really experienced people, and will of course, be able to consult technical experts and scientists.

Immediately after drawing up their plan, they must give it the widest possible publicity on the radio and in the press as well as submit the plan to the provincial planning board, to find out whether it is possible to execute it in that particular province.

For a period of two weeks, our newspapers should allow the matter to be fully thrashed out, by opening their columns to the readers as well as getting the thing

discussed by their journalists. Then the Provincial board should make a careful study of the newspaper comments of the public and the editorials, and then submit back to the central board a detailed summary of their own views. The Central Planning Board should then study this summary and draw up a final plan, incorporating such modifications and suggestions as are necessary, and submit it to the central government for sanction. Once it is sanctioned by the government, it will become the National plan for that particular development scheme.

In all cases, there must be a *strict time limit*. Say four weeks to draw the plan in the first place; two weeks for public discussion; two weeks for the Provincial board to draw up their conclusions; four weeks for the central planning board to redraft the plan; and an additional two weeks for transit processes. 105 days should be more than enough to bring a plan to workable stage.

The Provincial Boards should be composed of nine members and they will be responsible for seeing that the work is carried out in their province according to plan. They must personally supervise each district along with the members of the District group.

The District group should be composed of three members. They will be more like foremen in a factory, to see to the actual working of the plan.

As the work progresses, the results should be published every three months in the press and on the radio. In particular the best workers should be given a reward and publicity. That will be a great incentive to other workers. Our newspapers should not devote space to gossip of "socialites" but to our best workers.

Members of the Central and Provincial boards should all be able and capable people, and should consult foreign and our own experts on the subject.

Central Government will nominate the members of the Central Planning board. Central Planning board will appoint the members of the Provincial Planning boards on the recommendation of the provincial assemblies. The Central board will have the right of removal of any member they do not think suitable. District Boards will

be appointed or removed by the Provincial planning boards.

In this way, we shall be able to utilise the best ideas of the whole community and every individual citizen will really understand what it means to have a government of the people.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

The selection of diplomats to represent our country abroad is a very difficult matter. A diplomat is not only an international courier, but he is an advertising agent as well.

He must know the country to which he goes to deliver our message of goodwill and fellow-feeling and also be able to give them a correct picture of our life and culture.

Prior to the recent war, diplomacy was confined to a privileged few and was carried on mostly behind closed doors on a very "hush-hush" basis.

However, things are changing. Before long, diplomacy will be carried on more openly, which is what it should be. Why should nations come into conflict through the misdeeds of a few individuals?

Our ambassadors should be openly instructed not to get involved in any intrigues, but to deal only in matters of our own relationship with the country to which they are appointed.

Each ambassador should have a number of trade consuls under him, according to the size of the country to which he is sent. These trade consuls should, as far as possible, be appointed from our business people with experience of both home and export trade, so that they can purchase our incoming and sell our outgoing goods.

We should start a school straight away, to train diplomatic staff. It is desirable that trade consuls also get training in ambassadorial work.

Foreign languages must be obligatory. It is essential that in our outgoing people we have our own linguists to do the work of interpreters in every consulate and embassy.

A word of warning—spies, or to put it politely, people of the intelligence department, should never leave the shores of India along with ambassadorial or consular staff. An efficient intelligence service is needed to bring wreckers and murderers to justice, but not to spy on foreign nations. We must not establish any relationship with a country where we have to lower human dignity to such a level that, under the pretext of friendship, we have to spy.

Not even one rupee of India's money should ever be spent for such a diabolical purpose.

CIVIL SERVICE

The organisation of civil administration of the country is an essential part of our national well-being. An ordinary clerk in the service, drawing fifty or sixty rupees a month for using his pen eight or more hours each day is just as much an integral part of our community as the tradesman selling his wares in the bazaars to earn a humble living.

It should be a part of our education to make every individual member of our community realise that each is important and necessary to the country as a whole. Whilst we should all appreciate the services rendered, however humble, *they on their part* should perform their *duties cheerfully*, proud in the consciousness that the work of a garbage collector is just as important in its way as that of a doctor or lawyer.

The same thing applies to the members of our Civil Service. As it stands today, it has got a few bad defects. Civil servants think of themselves as a class apart, with definite class distinctions even within their own ranks.

They have a tremendous superiority complex which makes them keep aloof from the masses. It is possibly due to the fact that they think they owe their allegiance only to the foreign government and are a law unto themselves. They must be made to realise that they are only a part of the community, like everyone else, and it is the people who pay rates and taxes that keep them

where they are. Irrespective of the rank they occupy, they are in no way superior or inferior to anybody in the land.

Another trouble with our present civil servants, is the acceptance of bribes. We must face facts and acknowledge that a considerable amount of "grafting" goes on. It might have originated in the extremely poor salary which they receive, especially in the lower grades, but that this vile habit has permeated throughout the service cannot be denied. Along with better conditions of employment, we must ruthlessly suppress these illicit methods.

The number of civil servants must be strictly limited. We must not have too many officials and too few workers. All civil servants must be selected by competitive examination. To make the whole examination absolutely fair, especially for the higher grade posts, the examiners must be from a distant province and the candidates should be only known by an allotted number.

Promotion within the service should be strictly according to ability, allied to length of service. A man's relations or connections should not be taken into consideration at all, only his own capabilities. A civil servant should be subject to dismissal for unsuitability just as in any other industry. So long as each gives according to his ability, the service will function smoothly and well.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

For the last few decades, our national leaders have had plenty of opportunities to see for themselves the horrid conditions of our dungeons which are known as jails.

I fail to see what corrective or deterrent functions these prisons serve.

Whilst I would not send a poor woman to prison for stealing food for her children, I certainly would not allow a rich woman to get off scot-free as a "kleptomaniac." In the one case, it is sheer necessity which caused the theft, in the other, sheer greed.

During our transition period, crimes may increase for the time being, but thereafter a swift downward trend will take place.

Personally I would like to see all criminals used in the interests of scientific development. A person who appears to be a habitual criminal, may, with psychological study be turned into a useful citizen.

According to their degree of crime, we can use the criminals on such projects as hunting for hidden wealth in the Himalayas (a place which may prove a great source of potential wealth), or to do heavy labouring jobs in irrigation or similar work.

By detaining people in a jail not only do we lose the prisoners' labour but we have got to waste so much labour by guarding them. We can easily train the prisoners and send them out to live in labour colonies attached to the various undertakings. Except for wreckers and spies, who should receive very long sentences of exile to remote parts of the country, the period of enforced labour for ordinary criminals should depend entirely on their co-operation and good service. Anyone who refuses to work properly, if he finds that his stay in the special labour camps is thereby prolonged, will soon change his tactics.

These "prisoners" should receive proper rates of pay for their work. Even after they are free to return to the ordinary community, if some of them will agree to stay on to finish a particular job, they should get an extra special bonus on top of their wages. Full amenities for amusement and education should be provided in the labour colonies.

Criminals are just as much in need of attention, as hospital patients. Given proper environment and treatment, we will be surprised to find how few problem people of this sort remain on our hands.

STOCK EXCHANGE AND GAMBLING

Stock Exchange should be prohibited. Nobody should be allowed to feather their nests at the cost of other

people's labour. India will be very well off without such gentry.

National output will decide the measure of our industrial success, we do not want international financiers to weigh our progress. A Stock Exchange is nothing more than a glorified gambling den, the dice being human sweat.

We should not allow any kind of betting such as horse racing, dog racing and football pools. A struggling nation like ours must not allow a large number of people to be kept busy in such non-productive things.

If our people must gamble, then I suggest the regular running of a monthly lottery sponsored by the government. Half the money raised should be kept by the state to finance improvement schemes, and the other half should be used for prizes, divided into sums of not-too-large denominations.

This may prove a lucrative source of national finance in the initial stages of our programme.

Games of every description should be encouraged, but no gambling ought to be allowed. For healthy recreation and exercise, there can be nothing finer than outdoor sports. Competitive games between various organisations should be arranged and sponsored by the state. We should take our lessons from history, when they can best be applied to our needs. Even the ancient Romans knew the value of "bread and circuses."

NATIONALISATION AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

From the day I opened a text book on Economics and had my first academic lesson in this subject (which was a number of years ago) I have come across one stereotyped, pet argument about private enterprise, which can be summarised in the following words:—Private enterprise, because of competition, stimulates industry and trade, thus enhancing progress, whereas Nationalisation will lack the element of competition and will tend to cut out enterprise, thus retarding progress.

Nothing, in my opinion, could be more stupid than the

fact that so many generations of Economists should have clung on to this fallacious theory. It seems to me that these economists should take a lesson or two in logic. They would find that it is only simple inductive logic that teaches us that we cannot draw a general conclusion from individual premises.

Private enterprise does not lead the whole of humanity, nor even the people of a nation, into the path of progress. The only thing it does is to keep a handful of people in the saddle.

Intellectual members of the community are really responsible for not exploding this bubble.

It is a well-known fact that many marvellous inventions and innovations have been ruthlessly suppressed from time to time by the "captains of industry," because these inventions would mean the saving of the public's money, thereby causing loss of profit to the capitalists.

While private enterprise stimulates a few, it sets back the zeal of the majority. A national enterprise, on the other hand, stimulates the majority to the detriment of the few.

In the new form of nationalised industry, if these few do not want to pull their weight equally with others for the betterment of the community on the whole, then we shall subject them to a severe form of "means test" until they come to their senses. We cannot afford to carry any "dead weight."

The earliest teaching in Economics dates back to the Vedas. *Economic* views as are to be found in the Vedas are laid down on a communal basis.

Many economists today assert that their work, and what they write and lecture on, is purely a social science. It certainly ought to be, but unfortunately the majority of economists are more concerned today with attacking the social side in the interests of the capitalists.

More profit for the employer does not mean fuller employment for the people. It is the consuming society that creates demand and provides employment. The greater the purchasing power of the consumers, the larger will be the demand for commodities.

Equally fallacious is the argument put forward by the defenders of private enterprise that workers must put in

longer working hours to increase output. This is not at all true. Human beings can work a certain number of hours with vigour and freshness and after that time they simply drag on.

I have tried out a lot of experiments in this myself. On manual work, an average man or woman cannot work more than three hours at a stretch at full speed without a break for some kind of refreshment. Taking the week as a whole, we actually got more output when working 40 hours than when we tried working an hour or two more. For India, I definitely suggest a 40 hour week.

The worst indictment of all that can be made against private enterprise is the insecurity of employment. From my observations in different countries, I have come to the conclusion that in general the worker cannot afford to be ill, to have holidays, to rear a family or even to change to other work for which he may have an aptitude, if this needs time for training. Not only has he to render full service, but often has to be of the same political views as his employer!

Nationalisation, in order to achieve its purpose (*i.e.* the good of the community) must be steered clear of evils.

It is, for instance, impracticable to nationalise every little shop and factory. Only the major industries and agriculture can be nationalised easily and successfully.

I have already discussed that extreme care should be taken so that Nationalisation of industries does not become red tape officialdom.

When an industry is nationalised, care should be taken that the employees, because of the security of their employment and better conditions, do not begin to slacken their efforts. Usually the trouble is more likely to occur in the administrative quarters than in the case of the manual workers. The tendency is, once the fear of getting the "sack" is removed, the employee is apt to let things slide.

Full understanding by each individual of the importance of his work and an efficient system of supervision by the minister responsible, will eliminate any abuses.

PROPAGANDA

Rousing of enthusiasm in the people and convincing them of the advantages to be gained if they put their enthusiasm into practice, is itself an achievement of no mean size towards the plan of the nation's future.

We can get an example of what this means from the British Isles, during the second world war. Whether we agree with Mr. Churchill's views or not is a different matter, but we cannot ignore the success of his appeal to the nation for "blood and tears" to achieve the glory of winning the battle. This, together with his "sympathy for the teeming millions of Russia" which was asserted over the radio, worked wonders on the psychology of the masses and made everybody pull their weight bravely without much grumbling.

Another clever move was to have appointed Mr. Ernest Bevin (the dockers' K.C. as he is called in the West of England) as the Minister of Labour. It convinced the working man that if he can only win the war his lot will be considerably improved.

If, however, propagandists only incite the people to work for a particular goal, and when that is achieved the promised reward or improvement of conditions is not forthcoming, then people soon begin to revolt against their leaders and to decide things for themselves.

It happened in England. Soon after the war, the people were quick to realise that the war-time Prime Minister was still an imperialist and as soon as the general election came, they acted accordingly.

Our propaganda should be based entirely on truth—what is promised should be faithfully fulfilled. The people should be taken into the Government's confidence. When the results are achieved, they should be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labours. Propagandists should remember that they can trade on patriotism or religion for a while but not for ever.

A request for austerity has its own limit. Luckily for India we have no external commitments. We do not need to keep a vast army abroad even in peace time, to stem the tide of growing revolt amongst the masses of the world for bread, work and liberty nor another group

of men at home to keep these armies supplied. As long as we realise that freedom and bread are as sweet to other nations as they are to us, we will have no difficulty in our future task.

The best means of contacting all our people in India, as the bulk of them cannot yet read, is the radio, lantern slides, pictures and simple speeches.

In every village we should have a communal radio.

Newspapers will, of course, play their part as well.

Propaganda is enlightenment as well as guidance. Well-organized, it can help us to win half our battle of the future of India.

FINANCE

This little book is easy to read and equally easily it can be thrown into the waste paper basket. Should it happen to draw a bit more attention than that, the following question may arise:—"The projects suggested may be worth trying, but from whence is the money coming to put them into practice?"

Probably the Finance Minister will not have many kind words for me. However, I have not the slightest intention of giving him a headache if I can help it. On the contrary, I want to minimise his troubles, even those he gets from other directions!

My plan is simple—it consists of a DUAL CURRENCY SYSTEM. Until the world realises the value of labour and starts to value goods in terms of man's labour-hour, we have no other alternative but to pay for our imports with gold, or whatever other thing may be the recognised form of international currency.

We are not out to dictate to the rest of the world what they should or should not do. It is, of course, a pity that even in the 20th century, humanity has to weigh its work in terms of gold. After all, what is gold? It is only a mere metal like any other metal. It comes out of the earth and goes back to the earth.

Nations that hoard lots of gold put it in vaults or underneath rocks and guard it night and day. This

hoarding not only wastes valuable human labour, but brings no end of misery to people.

Gold worshippers fail to realise that it is within the bounds of possibility to increase the output of gold, just like copper or any other metal. What will be the value of gold then?

However, until other countries realise the folly of metallic idolatry, we will have to pay them in gold for anything we import and get paid in gold for anything we export, with certain exceptions.

Our neighbouring countries, like China, (who has suffered immensely through lack of gold) may readily agree to exchange goods in terms of labour hour.

What I mean by "Labour hour" is not that an hour of work put in by an agricultural worker should be of the same value as of an hour put in by a scientist. Starting the first unit from a minimum, but adequate, standard of living for the ordinary worker, the scale should go up in proportion to skill and risk involved in various occupations.

For instance, if five people; an agricultural worker, a carpenter, a doctor, a miner and a research worker each put in one hour's labour, the table of values might well be as follows:—

Agricultural worker	...	...	1 labour hour.
Carpenter	...	...	1 labour hour.
Doctor	...	...	3 labour hours.
Miner ...	...	...	3 labour hours.
Research worker	...	...	4 labour hours.

and so on. The above table is only meant as an example and not as an assessment of value for the respective work. That would have to be fixed by a properly representative body.

If we and the Chinese people (comprising between us such a vast population) can develop a trade successfully on these lines some other countries will follow suit. A new economic era will be ushered in.

No doubt through our own folly, we are lagging behind the western nations, but we should not forget that China and India are the homes of ancient civilisation. The

masses in China are illiterate today, yet it was China who introduced the printing press to the world.

Indian Vedic philosophy still remains the backbone of culture. There were Universities in India before any other country. Economics, Physics and Accountancy were studied in Ancient India.

The world has gained considerably from our ideas and culture in the past, so let us contribute new ideas for human progress now.

Until we succeed, either by example or precept, in persuading the other nations to value commodities in terms of labour hour, we will have to adopt dual system of finance.

1. An internal currency based purely on labour hour. This should be paper currency.

2. An external currency based on gold.

INTERNAL CURRENCY

We can finance most of our work programmes with internal currency. As long as people can change the notes for goods, a paper currency is always acceptable. In the first stage, until consumer goods are reasonably plentiful, there should be strict limitation on issue of paper currency.

Profits within the country should always be limited, and wages should be increased according to the availability of consumer goods, otherwise too much money will chase too few goods and inflation will take place. Prevention is always better than cure!

Once inflation starts, people lose confidence in the currency and all sorts of hoarding in material goods takes place, which in turn results in further scarcity of consumer goods.

EXTERNAL CURRENCY

This currency, which is based on gold, should be used to pay for our imports and our expenditure in other countries.

We can, apart from borrowing, get gold from three sources :—

1. Gold hoardings of the country.
2. Gold that can be extracted from our mines and river beds.
3. By exporting goods to other countries.

I am not anxious to build our country on borrowed money. That is the time I see the danger signal. Once we start encouraging foreign capitalists to lend us money, our future will be fraught with peril. Our home and foreign policy will be indirectly conducted by foreign capital and if we decline to be guided by them, it may end up with foreign warships shelling our shores and atom bombs on our heads.

Precisely, we must stand on our own feet.

I am under no illusions about the extreme difficulty we shall experience in paying for all our imports, until we modernise our agriculture and develop our industries.

As it happens, at the time of writing, no country except America is in a position to let us have all the machinery we want. War-sodden countries of Europe, including the U.S.S.R. are trying to build up their own economy.

If England wishes, she can supply us with some machinery. Whatever has been our past bitterness, and without going into the root causes of England giving us back our independence, we should appreciate her marvellous gesture in all good faith.

On 30th June, 1948, or earlier, when the British Army of occupation leaves the shores of India, the following is the message we should give them :—

"You are needed in England to build up your country.

The bond of friendship is better than the fetters of slavery. The blood that has been saved by your peaceful departure can be used by both our nations to build a better civilisation.

We are lying on roads and pavements, and you are living in "prefabs" and Nissen huts. With mutual help on an equal footing we can both improve our lot.

Your imperialistic politicians of pre-war days were just egoistic fools. The very fact that through their folly

they involved you and us in a second world war within 20 years, goes to prove their short-sightedness.

A new era has begun. Now you have a government of the people and we have a government of the people, let us work together for our people.

You are well aware that the conditions of our people are immeasurably worse than yours. We will need a tremendous quantity of your manufactured goods, much more than you could ever have sold to a poverty-stricken dependency.

Help your countrymen to make the things we require and we will very soon be able to send you the things you require."

From the very start, we should make sure that we only buy up-to-date machinery, and the very best of its kind.

From my experience of working with and seeing the work of very many different nations, I can say that the British workman may be slow, but he is usually sure. By comparison, the products of British factories are usually well made and well finished.

So, even apart from friendship, it would be to our advantage to buy British goods. Naturally their manufactured products will have to be competitive in price.

America is in a position to let us have all the machines we want. She is the richest country in the world, and her economic structure has not been affected to anything like the same extent as other countries by the war.

American agriculture and industries have got all the latest machinery.

Suppose we ordered a large number of machines from America, can we pay her in gold? Probably not, and we are not in a position to pay her with agricultural produce or ordinary manufactured goods, as she does not need any.

We cannot even pay her with raw materials. Firstly, we want to manufacture as much of our raw material as we possibly can and secondly the value of raw material compared to machinery is so low that it would be impossible to meet our commitments with our surplus alone.

We can, however, find a ready market in America for works of art, silk, brasswork and other examples of our handicraft. In a rich country people spend an enormous amount of money in buying paintings, furniture, first editions and curios.

In the field of painting, we may not have a Leonardo de Vinci (whose equal is still to be born—he was painter a scientist and inventor, a sculptor, a famous engineer who could construct instruments of war and monuments of peace, an accomplished composer and musician, an experimental chemist, a deviser of ballets, a pioneer in geology and the author of the first standard work on anatomy!) but we certainly have got some very good artists.

In the past, we have failed to publicise our national achievements in art and music and it is through lack of publicity that our artists have not reached the front ranks, along with those of Europe and America.

Who can assess the talent and hidden genius possessed by our unknown village sculptors with their carvings of Goddesses Saraswati or Durga?

The lacquer work and shawls of Kashmir, the sandalwood and ivory work of Mysore, the brass work of Benares and Moradabad, wicker-work of North West province, silk of Assam are only a few examples of the type of things we can utilise for the material advantage of our country.

In connection with the exporting of Works of Art, etc., it is necessary to classify these things into two broad categories from the commercial point of view:—

1. Things like Paintings, Sculpture, First editions of books and so on should be advertised by the government and handled by their agents only.

2. Ordinary works of art and handicraft should be left to usual trade channels. Where possible, these goods should have a heavy indirect tax. While levying this tax, care should be taken that it may not prevent the commodity from finding a market.

In general, a licence fee on a numerical basis of production is a better form of taxation than an export tax, which is always rather unpleasant to the importing country. A direct export tax can only be levied

successfully on commodities that have a great demand, e.g. tea, jute, etc. Even then, care will have to be taken that no substitute product comes into being, thereby causing decreasing return. A Finance Minister is usually safe in putting a direct tax on commodities of everyday use so long as the importing country also taxes the item. In such a case, before a substitute finds its way on the market, a long time will elapse. The importing country will have to reduce or remove the import duty first on the original commodity.

It is, in my opinion, extremely undesirable for any country to impose an import duty on immediate necessities of life such as food, ordinary clothing, etc. It hits the poorest section of the community. Increase in basic wages gets neutralised if the prices of necessities are pushed up.

To wipe out the excess currency in circulation, luxury products should be heavily taxed, and not necessities.

It is only by this means that we can ensure a decent standard of living for everyone.

Our Finance Minister and his advisers must be people of vision. We do not want a Minister who hugs his desk and files, still less do we want a batch of economic advisers who believe in stereotyped methods of finance. Let us have people with courage to try out new ideas, and above all they must have determination and integrity. Sad, indeed, is the plight of India today, but worse it will be if our finance department cannot steer the country clear of all dangers.

Once commodities get valued in the international market in terms of labour-hour, the problem of import and export duty will automatically vanish, but that will be a long time yet.

In fulfilling our development scheme, we will, no doubt, come across a very major obstacle. The big nations, like U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., will all be concerned to take thorough count of our national policy.

Once and for all we must make it clear to these countries that we are not concerned with any set ideologies. We are mainly concerned with improving the

lot of our people so that we may be capable of occupying our rightful place in the comity of nations.

We do not covet other people's territory, nor their wealth. We want to work and live and will never be dragged into any intrigues amongst the big powers, or the smaller ones.

Even with the open declaration of our policy, if countries refrain from trading with us—well, it will be a harder struggle to develop our country, but we will still have a most powerful asset:—

FOUR HUNDRED MILLION PAIRS OF HANDS.